564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with [751] whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 426 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[594] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
●837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual relations were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 422 A bride retains full title to all her personal property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. 562 Women are treated with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

611 The discerning reader will have noticed that the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor in the Ahaggar taking up arms. 173 562

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child," but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her husband. 428 562 [611 565]

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. 562 [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over her face. [576]

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives her visit should make her a present. [574 431]

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/ [595]

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" •V⊐ , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, while she gives him something for his personal use. He is, in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits. 562 572

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only adultery in <u>flagrante delicto</u> can justify the anger of the husband. [574] [837 593]

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing. 586

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry (he was seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/ [591 587]

Chapter IX

Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⴰⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb "ouker" ⴰⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 837 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get divorced and that some even say no more about it. [586]

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 562 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society. It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, [611] and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [584] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.